A Copula Functioning as a Light Verb in Korean: Aspectual Prominence and Subject Selection

Yutaka Sato

1. Introduction

Korean and Japanese both have three types of nominal elements, that is, verbal nouns (VNs), adjectival nouns (ANs), and bona fide nouns. These three categories exhibit slightly different behaviors between categories and between languages when used predicatively. Korean VNs and ANs are normally followed by the light verb ha(ta) ‘to do’ and Korean regular nouns (Ns) by the copula i(ta) ‘to be’ when functioning as predicates. In contrast, Japanese VNs, again normally, are followed by the light verb su(ru) ‘to do’ and Japanese ANs and Ns by the copula da ‘to be’. Sato, however, has shown that a copula can follow a Japanese VN in place of light suru and license its arguments in verbal cases, e.g., in the accusative, as shown in (1) below. The VN taiho ‘arrest’ in (1) is followed by the copula da and co-occurs with its arguments in the nominative and accusative, just as when it is followed by sita (the past tense of suru) as in (2). (Hereafter, the nominal elements followed by a light verb or a copula are in small capitals.)

(1) Keisatu-ga hannin-o TAIHO-da. [the VN-da construction]
    police-Nom offender-Acc arrest-Cop
    ‘The police arrested the offender.’

(2) Keisatu-ga hannin-o TAIHO-sita.
    police-Nom offender-Acc arrest-did
    ‘The police arrested the offender.’

Sato also demonstrated that transitive VNs can appear passivized when followed by a copula, but not when followed by suru. The contrast between a transitive VN followed by a copula and by suru is shown in (3) and (4). The transitive VN taiho ‘arrest’ can co-occur with its theme in the nominative, as shown in (3), whereas the nominative NP hannin-ga in (4), where the same VN is followed by light suru, can never be interpreted as its theme argument. The nominative argument in (4) can only be interpreted as the agent in an event of arresting.

(3) Hannin-ga (keisatu-ni-yotte) TAIHO-da. [the VN-da construction]
    offender-Nom police-by arrest-Cop
    ‘The offender was arrested by the police.’

(4) Hannin-ga TAIHO-sita.
    offender-Nom arrest-did
    ‘The offender was arrested.’
The purpose of this article is to examine (i) whether Korean VNs can be followed by a copula when used predicatively, (ii) whether Korean transitive VNs can appear passivized when followed by a copula, and (iii) to give an analysis to account for alternations between active and passive voice when a transitive VN is followed by a copula. It will be concluded that Korean VNs can also be followed by a copula, albeit marginally, that is, the VN-ita construction exists, and that transitive VNs followed by a copula allow either the external or internal argument to be realized as subject. It follows from this that the copula also has the function of a light verb: i.e., realizing the argument(s) of a nominal element in clausal structure. The copula and other light verbs, however, differ in whether or not they have an inclination to select a specific type of subject. This difference in subject selection will be explained by their difference in event structure.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 presents data pertaining to whether or how the VN-ita construction appears on the Internet and, if it does, whether it exhibits alternation between transitive and passive. Section 3 presents formal descriptions of the VN-ita construction as well as other light verb constructions (LVCs) within the framework of Distributed Morphology. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. The occurrence of the VN-ita construction on the Internet
2.1 The VN-ita construction in active voice

The ten most frequently used transitive VNs found in the Yonsei Corpus wordlist were examined using the Google Advanced Search function, *this exact word or phrase*, to see whether they appear before the plain nonpast copula -i-ta or the formal nonpast copula i-pni-ta. In this case, however, the ninth most frequent transitive VN cinceng was excluded, and the first to eighth and the tenth and eleventh most frequent transitive VNs were used as the ten most frequent VNs. This is because cinceng, which is polysemous (e.g., ‘to petition’, ‘to suppress’, ‘to give’), was written only in hangul on Han’s list and it could not be determined which of these morphemes was meant. Each search query included an accusative case marker (-ul or -ul), a VN, and a copula (either -ita or -ipnita), e.g., *lul VNita*, resulting in four types of queries per transitive VN. The Google site https://www.google.co.kr/ was accessed between December 16 and 27, 2017. The first 20 (or fewer) results of each search (resulting in a maximum of 80 results for each VN) were carefully examined and the following expressions were excluded from the count: (i) the result sounded unnatural and inauthentic in Korean, (ii) an accusative NP was not interpretable as the theme argument of the VN, (iii) the VN is contained in parentheses or quotation marks, and (iv) a morpheme homophonous to the VN under search (but with different meaning) appeared in its place. If identical expressions were repeated, only the first occurrence was counted. The results are shown in Table 1. As can be seen from Table 1, all of the ten transitive VNs were found to co-occur with a copula and

\[(4)\]  
Hannin-ga TAIHO-sita.  
offender-Nom arrest-did  
‘The offender arrested (someone)’.12)
a theme in the accusative on the Internet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VN</th>
<th>VN-i-ta</th>
<th>VN-i-pni-ta</th>
<th>VN</th>
<th>VN-i-ta</th>
<th>VN-i-pni-ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selmyeng ‘explanation’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>phyohyen ‘expression’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inceng ‘recognition’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>palphyo ‘announcement’</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwakin ‘confirmation’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>ceysi ‘presentation’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyelceng ‘decision’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>cwunpi ‘preparation’</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eicek ‘pointing out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>senthayk ‘selection’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Korean transitive VNs with their theme in the accusative and a copula

Some examples are given below. The VN *hwakin ‘confirmation’* co-occurring with its theme in the accusative is followed by the plain copula *-ita* in (5), and the VN *kyelceng ‘decision’* with its theme in the accusative is followed by the formal copula *-ipnita* in (6).


‘Third, competing game businesses and our own business are confirming the current positions in the market.’


‘What kind of brand you end up carrying decides whether or not you can succeed in the future.’

Note that VNs followed by a copula are sometimes immediately followed by paraphrasing expressions with VN-*ha*. The news report in (7) is one such example. The VN *cwunpi ‘preparation’* in (7a) is followed by a copula (which appears as phonologically null after a vowel-final expression) in a news headline, and it was immediately followed by exactly the same expression in (7b) except that the VN in this case was followed by *hata*. The example in (7) clearly shows that a VN-*i-* expression is used in the sense of VN-*ha*. VN-*i-* expressions, however, differ from corresponding VN-*ha-* expressions in having a special stylistic flavor because they sound elliptic; they are often considered suitable for news headlines.


Farias coach, win-Potential-Rel game-Acc preparation-Dec

‘Manager Farias: ’(We have) prepared for a game that (we) can win.’

b. *‘Iki-l swu iss-nun kyengki-lul cwunpi-hay-ss-ta.’*

win-Potential-Rel game-Acc prepare-Lv-Pst-Dec

‘(We have) prepared for a game that (we) can win.’
2.2 The VN-ita construction in passive voice

In addition to examining the occurrence of transitive VNs with accusative themes in active voice as shown above, it was also examined whether they could appear passivized when followed by a copula. Transitive VNs followed by a copula were considered passives when either their theme argument appeared in the nominative or their agentive argument appeared in an agentive phrase, NP-ey uyhay ‘by NP’. Note that those transitive VNs are not of an alternating type (e.g., hwaktay ‘to expand’, which can be realized as both transitive and intransitive when followed by hata), and that they have to co-occur with a nominative agent when followed by light hata, as shown in (8a–c). The co-occurrence of a theme in the nominative, (8b), or an agentive phrase, (8c), renders them ungrammatical in the intended readings.

(8) Transitive VN followed by hata
      Chelswu-Nom that thing-Acc explanation-Lv-Pst-Dec
      ‘Chelswu explained that.’
   b. *Ku kes-i SELMYENG-ha-yess-ta. [Theme subject]
      that thing-Nom explanation-Lv-Pst-Dec
      ‘That was explained.’
   c. *Chelswu-ey uyhay SELMYENG-ha-yess-ta. [Agentive phrase]
      Chelswu-by explanation-Lv-Pst-Dec
      ‘(It) was explained by Chelswu.’

To investigate whether the ten most frequent transitive VNs examined above also appear passivized, the same method was applied as above. A search query this time consisted of either a nominative case marker (-ka or -i) or the agentive marker (-ey uyhay ‘by’), and a VN, and a copula (-ita or ipnita), e.g., ka VNita or ey uyhay VNipnita, resulting in six queries per VN. The Google site https://www.google.co.kr/ was accessed between December 16 and 27, 2017. The first 20 (or fewer) results of each search (resulting in a maximum of 120 results for each VN) were carefully examined and the following expressions were excluded from the count: (i) the result sounded unnatural and inauthentic in Korean, (ii) either a nominative NP was not interpretable as the theme argument of the VN, or an agentive phrase was not interpretable as the agent of the VN, (iii) the VN is contained in parentheses or quotation marks, and (iv) a morpheme homophonous with the VN under search appeared in its place. If identical expressions were repeated, only the first occurrence was counted. The results are shown in Table 2. Eight of the ten transitive VNs were considered to be used as passives, i.e., they co-occurred with their theme in the nominative. Of those eight transitive VNs found co-occurring with a nominative theme, four co-occurred with an agentive phrase.
Table 2. Transitive VNs with the theme in nominative or an agentive phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VN</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>nominative (-ka or -i)</th>
<th>agentive phrase (-ey uyhay)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VN-ita</td>
<td>VN-ipnita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selmyeng</td>
<td>explanation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inceng</td>
<td>recognition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwakin</td>
<td>confirmation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyelceng</td>
<td>decision</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cieek</td>
<td>pointing out</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phyohyen</td>
<td>expression</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palphyo</td>
<td>announcement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceysi</td>
<td>presentation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cwunpi</td>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senthayk</td>
<td>selection</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two examples are given below. The passage in (9) is a story about a gentleman, or *tayin*, of strict morals, who can serve as a lord when acknowledged as such by the king. The transitive VN *inceng* ‘acknowledgement’ is preceded by its theme in the nominative and followed by the plain copula. That it can be construed as a passive can be confirmed by the following NP *wangca-ey uyhan inceng* ‘acknowledgement by the king’, which paraphrases such a passive relationship. The transitive VN *palphyo* ‘announcement’ in (10) is preceded by an agentive phrase and followed by a copula.

(9) Ku-nun isangeek-in thongchica-i-ko ku-ey uyhayse totek-ponseng-ey he-Top ideal ruler-Cop-and thereby moral-nature-with *pwuhapha-nun thongchi-hayngwy-ka INCENG-i-ta.* matching-Rel ruling-act-Nom acknowledgement-Cop-Dec *Wangca-ey uyhan inceng-un hyensil-uy chapyelcek king-by acknowledgement-Top reality-Gen discriminatory sinpuncek cils-e-lul cengtanghwa-ha-n-ta.* ranking order-Acc justify-Prs-Dec ‘He (gentleman or *tayin*) is an ideal ruler, and his act of ruling conforming to morality is thereby acknowledged. Acknowledgement by the king justifies the discriminatory ranking order in the real world.’


As shown above, all the top ten VNs can be followed by a copula and co-occur with accusative theme arguments. Eight of the ten top transitive VNs were found to co-occur with their theme in the nominative when they were followed by a copula, and four of those eight were also found to co-occur with an agentive phrase when followed by a copula. It must be added, however, that although examples of the VN-
ita construction could be found on the Internet, they were often judged to be very unnatural by native speakers.

To sum up, the data shown so far in this section provide positive answers to two questions posed at the beginning of this paper, that is, (i) whether Korean VN's can be followed by a copula when used predicatively, and (ii) whether Korean transitive VN's can appear passivized when followed by a copula.

3. An analysis of the VN-ita construction

This section presents an analysis of the VN-ita construction within the framework of Distributed Morphology. In particular, I adopt the view of Jung’s, Folli, Harley, and Megerdoomian’s analyses of light verb constructions (LVCs) in Korean and Persian, where a light verb is treated as a little v. Folli and Harley and Harley have proposed different flavors of a little v, i.e., vDO, vCAUSE, vBECOME and vBE, for which Harley gives the following featural representations.

\[(11) \text{Features of little v's}^{26}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. vCAUSE: } & [+\text{dynamic}], [+\text{change of state}], [+\text{cause}] \\
\text{b. vBECOME: } & [+\text{dynamic}], [+\text{change of state}], [-\text{cause}] \\
\text{c. vDO: } & [+\text{dynamic}], [-\text{change of state}], [-\text{cause}] \\
\text{d. vBE: } & [-\text{dynamic}], [-\text{change of state}], [-\text{cause}] 
\end{align*}\]

Jung proposed that the Korean light verb ha-corresponds to vDO and vBE, respectively. I follow Jung in the analysis of VN's with dynamic and stative hata and add here an analysis of the VN-ita construction. In the following I will introduce Jung’s analysis of LVCs with dynamic and stative hata and the mechanism of subject selection in these constructions in 3.1, and an analysis of the VN-ita construction and the mechanism of subject selection in it in 3.2.

3.1 Subject selection by a little v in LVCs

A little v and a Voice projection are assumed to be bundled in this paper as well as in Jung and Folli and Harley, and thus a little v is the functional category responsible for determining whether or not there is an external argument. If a little v does not provide an external argument, an internal argument is raised from below to be realized as subject. In this way a little v determines the type of the subject. I assume that the little v's with the features in (11) have the capacity to determine which argument is realized as subject by choosing whether to project a specifier for an external argument and to license accusative case. This assumption is based on Grimshaw’s observation of the relationship between the type of a subject and the event structure of its predicate.

Grimshaw discusses the characteristics of the subject event structure or aspect, or in terms of ‘a projection of the event structure of predicates, and proposes that ‘the aspectually most prominent argument is realized as the subject, following Pustejovsky. The accomplishment verb break, for example, has an event structure as shown below, where, ‘for x breaks y, the activity is one which x engages in breaking and the resulting state is one in which y is broken.'
Grimshaw argues ‘… that an argument which participates in the first sub-event in an event structure is more prominent than an argument which participates in the second sub-event.’ She further argues that, although both x and y are involved in the first sub-event of the event structure and y alone is involved in the second sub-event, the argument x associated only with the first sub-event (excluding that associated with both sub-events, i.e., y) is chosen as the most prominent in this case.

Activity verbs like work have an event structure below, which Grimshaw says ‘resembles the first sub-event’ in the above structure and thus follows ‘the general pattern,’ i.e., the argument involved only in the first sub-event is realized as subject.

Inchoative achievement verbs like close (intransitive), for which Grimshaw did not show an event structure, are supposed to have an event structure as shown below, which appeared in Pustejovsky.

a. The door closed.

T (transition) on the top node stands for the entire event structure (ES) of the achievement verb close. The argument that appears in both sub-events, the-door in this case, is realized first in object position and later in subject position. Regarding unaccusative verbs, Pustejovsky states that, assuming ‘that for unaccusative verbs the subject is an underlying object,’ ‘[t]he semantic participant in a predicate opposition is mapped onto the internal argument position of the lexical structure (roughly the d-structure object position).’ He considers the second sub-event referring to a state to be ‘the primary event,’ which functions as the head of the event. Hence, the theme argument in an accusative achievement is expected to be the most prominent argument in this model.
Grimshaw, however, stated that the mechanism of subject selection for states is different from that for dynamic events and that the subject selection for states cannot be based solely on aspectual prominence, but must be based on both aspectual and thematic prominence. In her discussion of *fear*, she writes, ‘it must be admitted that in this case there is no independent evidence that the aspectual analysis will give this result, so we must stipulate it.’ Grimshaw stipulates that ‘the Experiencer is maximally prominent both aspectually and thematically,’ just like the agentive class. The event structure of a state is supposed to consist of ‘a single event, which is evaluated relative to no other event,’ as shown in (15). The arguments of *fear*, e.g., *Mary* and *ghosts* in *Mary fears ghosts*, are both arguments of the state subevent, and neither argument can be considered more prominent than the other according to the above criterion. This shows that selection of subject based on aspectual prominence alone does not work in the case of states, and that some other mechanism is at work.

(15) The event structure of states

a. The door is closed.

b. ES: $\quad S$
   $\quad e$
   LCS': closed(the-door)
   LCS: [closed(the-door)]

The Korean and Japanese dynamic light verbs (*ha*, *toy*, and *su*), although thematically bleached, I argue, retain the relevant aspectual information inherited from their corresponding heavy verbs. I assume that these dynamic light verbs function as a little v and participate in subject selection, for example by deciding (i) whether or not to project a specifier for an external argument and (ii) whether or not to license the accusative case of an internal argument (if no accusative case is assigned, an internal argument is raised to subject position). The dynamic light verbs that have corresponding agentive heavy verbs, i.e., *hata* and *suru*, realize the most aspectually prominent argument of a VN as subject, and the Korean light verb *toyta*, which has a corresponding unaccusative heavy verb, realizes the theme argument of a VN as subject. In contrast, the stative light verb *hata* has to rely on thematic prominence for subject selection.

Based on the assumption regarding subject selection stated above, the derivation of the following two types of LVCs presented in Jung will be re-interpreted as below.

(16) Korean LVCs

   Chelswu-Nom public-opinion-Acc survey-Lv-Pst-Dec
   ‘Chelswu conducted a survey on the public opinion.’
b. Ku cakka-ka YWUMYENG-ha-ta.
that author-Nom famous-Lv-Dec
‘That author is famous.’

Jung gives the following operation of Vocabulary Insertion for the functional morpheme $v_{DO}$:\(^{54}\)

\[(17) \text{Vocabulary Insertion of } v_{DO}^{55}\]
\[(a) \quad v_{DO} \leftrightarrow \emptyset / [\sqrt{\_\_}]\]
\[(b) \quad \leftrightarrow ha- / \text{Elsewhere}\]

The Vocabulary Insertion (VI) operation in (17a) applies to bona fide verbs like meko- ‘to eat’, and the VI in (17b) derives cosa ha- ‘to conduct a survey’. The crucial difference between VN and AN roots, on the one hand, and bona fide verb roots (including stative verb roots), on the other, as discussed in Jung,\(^{56}\) is that the former roots, i.e., VNs and ANs, are realized as free morphemes, more concretely as nominal, whereas the latter are all realized as bound morphemes. Ahn has demonstrated that VNs and ANs can be separated from the light verb hata by inserting a case particle or a delimiter.\(^{57}\)

The clause projected from $v_{DO}$ refers to a process, type (13), and this little v is expected to project a specifier for an external argument, which is realized as an agitative subject. The schematic structure of (16a) given in (18) in the spirit of Jung\(^{58}\) involves the following steps: (i) The activity VN root cosa ‘survey’ first merges with its theme argument to form a maximal projection $\sqrt{P}$, (ii) $\sqrt{P}$ is merged with the category-defining functional morpheme n (headed by a phonologically null element), resulting in $nP$, (iii) the little v $v_{DO}$ (headed by ha-) merges with $nP$ and projects a specifier to host an external argument, and (iv) the agent NP is raised to the specifier of TP to get its nominative case checked—for lack of space, TP is not mentioned in the figure. A category-defining functional category needs to merge with a root because in Distributed Morphology (DM) roots are not specified for any syntactic category. I assume with Jung that the little v, $v_{DO}$ in this case, can check the accusative case of a Theme NP across the maximal projection headed by n.

\[(18) \text{Dynamic little v, Process event}\]

The stative little v is given the features $[\neg \text{dynamic}][\neg \text{change of state}][\neg \text{cause}]$, as in (11d). The schematic structure of (16b) with the AN ywumyeng ‘famous’, in the spirit of Jung,\(^{60}\) is given in (19a).
The VI operations for this little v are shown in (20); in (20b), I have added the VI operation for a copula to the VI operations proposed by Jung. An example of a sentence with copular structure is given in (21) below, and its structure is shown in (19b) above.

The stative little v is realized (i) as phonologically null when merging with a bound stative verb root, e.g., noph-ø ‘to be high’, as in (20a), (ii) as the copula -i when it merges with a Predicational Phrase (PredP), e.g., haksayng-i- ‘to be a student’, as in (20b), or (iii) as ha- elsewhere, e.g., ywumyeng ha- ‘to be famous’, as in (20c). As nominal predicates generally do not take an argument, there needs to be a PredP so that its subject can be introduced into the structure as an entity to be predicated of, as shown in (19b) for the sentence in (21).

For the sentence with a stative predicate in (16b), both aspectual prominence and thematic prominence work to select a subject. The theme argument for ku cakka ‘that author’ is selected as subject, as there is no other argument. If it has an experiencer argument in addition to a theme argument, for example in the case of min-mang ‘to be embarrassed’, the experiencer is chosen as subject because it is thematically more prominent and both the experiencer and theme are identical in aspectual prominence.

### 3.2 Subject selection in the VN-ita construction

The VN-ita construction has the same structure as the copular structure in (19b). One more mechanism, however, is needed to ensure the assignment of accusative case within copular structure, for which I follow Myler in assuming different types of copulas. Myler posited different types of copulas depending on whether they...
have a specifier and license accusative case. I have changed his notations of {},{D} and \( \Phi \)\(^{66} \) to [+Ext, +Acc] (Myler’s [D] \( \Phi \)), [+Ext, −Acc] (Myler’s {D}) and [−Ext, −Acc] (Myler’s {}) for ease of exposition. [+Ext, +Acc] subscripted on a stative little v below indicates that it projects a specifier and checks accusative case, [+Ext, −Acc] indicates that it projects a specifier, and [−Ext, −Acc] indicates that it neither projects a specifier nor checks accusative case. The VI operations in (22) ensure the projection of a specifier for an external argument and licensing of accusative case, if necessary.

(22) VI operations for the copula

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{vBE [+Ext, +Acc]} \quad \leftrightarrow \quad -i^* / \text{[Pred _____]} \\
\text{b. } & \text{vBE [+Ext, −Acc]} \quad \leftrightarrow \quad -i^* / \text{[Pred _____]} \\
\text{c. } & \text{vBE [−Ext, −Acc]} \quad \leftrightarrow \quad -i^* / \text{[Pred _____]}
\end{align*}
\]

The VI operation in (23) introduces an nP as the complement of Pred. A PredP is postulated for the VN-ita construction because it is needed for an ordinary copular sentence like (21) and the Japanese VN-da construction contains an overt Pred head. The data in (24) contain de, which functions as a Pred head in Japanese.\(^{67} \)

(23) VI operation for the Predicational head

Pred \( \leftrightarrow \) o / [n _____]

(24) \( \text{Indo-Kōka Daigaku Madorasu-kō-de-wo} \quad \text{Indo-no kōtū-zicyō-ni} \)
\( \text{Indian-technology-university-Madras- in-Top India-Gen traffic-situation-to} \)
\( \text{tekiō-sita gazō-syorī-hōsiki-rosoku-sensō-o} \quad \text{KENKYŪ-de ar-u}. \)
\( \text{fitting image-processing-style-curb-sensor-Acc research-Pred be-NPst} \)
\( \text{‘At Indian Technology of Institute Madras (they are) doing research on an} \)
\( \text{image-processing curb-detection sensor that fits Indian traffic situations.’} \)

The event information of the stative little v does not match up with that of the VN it co-occurs with because a PredP intervenes between them, as shown in (19b) (or (26) below); this parallels the analysis of a light verb construction with two layers of little v projections by Jung\(^{69} \) an elaboration of which will be presented shortly.

The examples of the VN-ita construction in (25a,b) are given the schematic structure in (26a,b).

(25) a. \( \text{Hoysa-ka kongcang-ul KENSEL-i-ta.} \)
\( \text{company-Nom factory-Acc building-Cop-Dec} \)
\( \text{‘The company has built a factory.’} \)

b. \( \text{Koncang-i (hoysa-ey-uyhay) KENSEL-i-ta.} \)
\( \text{factory-Nom company-by building-Cop-Dec} \)
\( \text{‘A factory has been built by the company.’} \)

\( \text{\( ^{11} \)} \)
The VN-ita construction with a transitive VN

a. External argument as subject  
   b. Internal argument as subject

The sentences in (25a,b) with the structures in (26a,b) undergo the following derivation: (i) the causative VN root kensel ‘building’ merges with its theme argument kongcang ‘factory’ to project a √P, (ii) √P is merged with the category-defining functional morpheme n, resulting in nP, (iii) Pred merges with nP and projects a specifier, (iv) the theme kongcang is raised to the specifier of PredP to satisfy the EPP condition, and (v) a little v merges with PredP. After this step, the little v with [+Ext, +Acc] in (26a) checks the accusative case on the theme and projects a specifier to host the agent hoysa ‘company’. The little v with [−Ext, −Acc] in (26b), on the other hand, neither licenses accusative case nor projects a specifier for an external argument, which results in the raising of the theme to the specifier of TP to get nominative case.

I assume that after each sentence is derived in the syntax, it is checked at the Syntax-Semantics Interface as to whether the aspectual and thematic information of each morpheme in the Encyclopedia matches, as proposed by Harley and Noyer\textsuperscript{70} and Kelly.\textsuperscript{71} I further assume that VNs and ANs (as well as other morphemes) at least have the information in (27) in their Encyclopedia entries.

(27) VN/AN root entries in the Encyclopedia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. (\sqrt{\text{COSA}}) ‘survey’</th>
<th>b. (\sqrt{\text{KENSEL}}) ‘building’</th>
<th>c. (\sqrt{\text{YWUMYENG}}) ‘famous’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>1, theme</td>
<td>1, theme</td>
<td>1, theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>[+dynamic][−change of state][−cause]</td>
<td>[+dynamic][+change of state][+cause]</td>
<td>[−dynamic][−change of state][−cause]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I follow Kratzer,\textsuperscript{72} Kelly,\textsuperscript{73} and Harley and Noyer\textsuperscript{74} in the specification of participants and aspectual information, although they have been slightly changed. Unlike Kelly, external arguments are excluded from the participants of all ‘transitive’ morphemes, as they cannot be considered arguments of morphemes, following Kratzer.\textsuperscript{75} This mechanism of specifying the internal argument(s) of a morpheme alone as shown in (27) is particularly needed to account for the alternation between transitive and passive in the VN-ita construction. The need for each morpheme to have an
‘external argument’ in the projection of a little v, however, is implicated in their featural representations for event structure. Kratzer\textsuperscript{[76]} wrote that ‘there is a connection between the Aktionsarten of a verb and its external argument.’ The specification only of internal arguments as Participants and the specification of event structure as Event for the sake of subject selection in the Encyclopedia will ensure the derivation of ordinary LVCs and the VN-\textit{ita} construction.

The aspectual information carried by a little v is checked against that of the VN or AN it merges with. The dynamic little v \textit{VDO} with [+dynamic][−change of state][−cause], (11b)/(17b), matches with the VN \textit{cosa} ‘survey’ with the same aspectual features in (27a), and projects a specifier for an external argument due to its event structure, as shown in (18). The little v \textit{VBE} with [−dynamic][−change of state][−cause], (11c)/(20c), matches with the AN \textit{ywumyeng} ‘famous’ with the same features in (27c) and lets the most thematically prominent argument be realized as subject.

In the VN-\textit{ita} construction in (25a) with the structure in (26a), event-matching does not work. This is because the copula is stative whereas \textit{kensel} ‘building’ is dynamic, as shown in (27b). This parallels the sentence with two little v’s in (28a).

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Chelswu-ka Yenghi-uy hayngtong-ul MINMANG-ha-eha-ess-ta.} \\
\textit{Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Gen behavior-Acc embarrassment-vBE-vDO-Pst-Dec} \\
‘Chelswu looked embarrassed by Yenghi’s behavior.’\textsuperscript{[77]}
\item \textit{[vPDO Chelswu [vPBE [nP [\textit{tChelswu hayngtong } MINMANG ] o ] -ha] -eha] Chelswu behavior embarrassment v BE v DO}
\end{enumerate}

The outermost little v, \textit{VDO -eha-}, which is dynamic, does not match the event structure of \textit{minmang} ‘embarrassment’, which is stative. I assume that just as an intervening phrase, i.e., vPBE, between \textit{VDO -eha-} and \textit{minmang} in (28b) allows a mismatch in event structure, the intervening PredP between a little v and the VN, as shown in (26), obviates the need for matching of event structure between the little v and the VN.

The information in the Encyclopedia for the VN \textit{kensel} ‘building’ is satisfied in both (26a) and (26b). Its sole argument specified in (27b) is realized as its complement, and its agentive argument, which is expected from its causative event structure, as in (12), is provided by the little v with [+Ext, +Acc] in (26a). The agentive argument expected from its causative event structure is not realized in (26b), but this does not violate its Participant information. An agentive argument, in fact, is implied even in (26b) and thus can be realized as an adjunct argument,\textsuperscript{[78]} e.g., as an agentive phrase. The mechanism of subject selection in the VN-\textit{ita} construction is based on thematic prominence, because the little v is stative in this case. The thematic prominence of the theme argument and that of the agent, which is only expected from event structure and is more like an adjunct argument, I believe, are identical, which allows either argument to be realized as subject in this construction.

4. Conclusion

I have shown above that the VN-\textit{ita} construction can be found on the Internet, although native speakers usually judge it very unnatural and marginal at best. The
VN-ita construction, just like the Japanese VN-da construction, exhibits an alternation between transitive and passive. I have presented an analysis within the framework of Distribute Morphology. Such alternation of voice in the VN-ita construction is accounted for by postulating that (i) subject selection in the VN-ita construction is made based on either aspectual or thematic prominence when a little v is stative, and (ii) transitive VNs have only their internal arguments in their Encyclopedic entries.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by Laboratory Program for Korean Studies through the Ministry of Education of Republic of Korea and Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2016-LAB-2250004). The original paper was presented at Korea at the Nexus of Northeast Asian Linguistic Area, Seoul National University, Korea, in October 2018. I thank the participants and those who gave me valuable comments.

Notes
2) Ibid.
9) Ibid., 307(1).
10) Ibid.
11) Ibid., 308(5).
12) Ibid., 308(3).

13) C. Han, C. “Sangwi pinto ‘hata’ tongsa moknok [A list of high-frequency verbs with ‘hata’],” in Report of the Special Project for the Typological Investigation of Languages and Cultures of the East and West, (Tsukuba: The University of Tsukuba, 2001), 563–612.

14) Ibid.

15) http://google.co.kr/url?q=http://home.kocca.kr/mportal/bbs/view/B0000204/1312991.do%3BKCSESSIONID%3Dz2WhWd2ZKQ62LIQJpPrWPGrhczHhzmzp5Q1My2ZSCvQc8ZTRhh!1384163490!-155743900%3FsearchCnd%3D%26searchWrd%3D%26cateTp%3D%26cateTp%2B%26useAT%2B%26menuNo%3D201225%26categoryNo%3D4%26subcate%3D6%26cateCode%3D0%26type%3D%26instNo%3D0%26questionTp%3D%26uf_Setting%3D%26recovery%3D%26option1%3D%26option2%3D%26pageIndex%3D21&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwjmr_g8LYAwhLopQKfMAI&usg=AOvVaw1EQCMbtd3SIx8KUN5zqvy

15) http://google.co.kr/books?id=PgnwCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT60&lpg=PT60&dq=%22*%EB%A5%BC+%EA%B2%B0%EC%A0%95%EC%9E%85%EB%8B%88%EB%8B%A4*%22&source=bl&ots=qKkmDfKn&sig=kmEFiyFMnGcmF8o6UI9Hy_PLY&hl=ko&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiP2dOPg9YAhUNNpQKHTJaBUkQ6AEIFDAA

16) https://books.google.co.kr/books?id=PgnwCgAAQBAJ&pg=PT60&lpg=PT60&dq=%22*%EB%A5%BC+%EA%B2%B0%EC%A0%95%EC%9E%85%EB%8B%88%EB%8B%A4*%22&source=bl&ots=qKkmDfKn&sig=kmEFiyFMnGcmF8o6UI9Hy_PLY&hl=ko&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiP2dOPg9YAhUNNpQKHTJaBUkQ6AEIFDAA

17) http://google.co.kr/url?q=http://www.xportsnews.com/%3Fac%3Darticle_view%26entry_id%3D20100&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwj4Ki9lYAhWHJQKHSqgCewQFggIMAQ&usg=AOvVaw3wdfmNTtWxXofP7lnVnji

18) http://google.co.kr/url?q=http://cabincrew.co.kr/bbs/board.php%3Fbo_table%3Dcrew89%26wr_id%3D32103%26sop%3Dand%26sod%3Ddesc%26page%3D2215&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwj37-Xx_JDyAhZLx7wKHgAydFggIMA&usg=AOvVaw0mGyLgJhFpYqT-oicAuyJ

19) http://google.co.kr/url?q=http://ps.termwiki.com/KO/work_placement&sa=U&ved=0ahUKEwj89v9pZfYAhUBKJQKH8sLyMqFggIMA&usg=AOvVaw0kKJ3jGNH-f6Jw_JhPnA-


26) Ibid.

27) Jung, op. cit.

28) Ibid.

29) Folli and Harley, op. cit.


31) Ibid., 25.

32) Ibid., 26.

33) Ibid., 27.


36) Ibid., 26(44).
37) Ibid., 26.
38) Ibid., 27.
39) Ibid.
40) Ibid., 27(45).
41) Ibid.
43) Ibid., 58(15).
44) E.g., in terms of LCS or lexical conceptual structure — closed(the-door) as opposed to closed(the-door).
47) Grimshaw, op. cit.
48) ‘this result’ here was meant to be the Experiencer of fear being the aspectually most prominent.
50) Ibid., 28.
52) Ibid., 57(14).
53) Jung, op. cit.
54) Ibid.
55) Ibid., 111(55).
56) Ibid.
57) Ahn, op. cit.
58) Jung, op. cit.
59) Ibid., 107.
60) Ibid.
61) Ibid.
62) Ibid., 111(57).
63) Ibid.
64) See Jung op. cit. for why the experiencer is more thematically prominent.
69) Jung, op. cit.
73) Kelly, op. cit.
74) Harley and Noyer, op. cit.
75) Kelly op. cit. also did not specify the external argument of a verb like break used transitively.
76) Kratzer, op. cit., 123.
77) Jung, op. cit., 116(67).
78) Grimshaw, op. cit.